2d. Edition

XII

THE

MYSTERIES OF GOVERNMENT,

OR

FAVORITISM UNVEILED,

A NEW-YEAR'S PRESENT TO THE PEOPLE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

BY **THE SPY IN COLUMBIA.**

"Manus hæc inimica Tyrannis."

PRINTED SOMEWHERE, AND PUBLISHED EVERYWHERE.

JANUARY, 1825.

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REFORM.

The College—the Bank—the Bench.

TO THE PEOPLE OF S. CAROLINA.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I took occasion during the late sitting of the Legislature to hint you some corruptions of your Bank and Bench, and to offer you, thro' your Representatives, my veiws of the causes of the decline and fall of your COLLEGE. I suggested at the same time, such measures of reform as appeared to me best calculated to re-establish it on a prosperous basis; and the spirit in which the paper was received, shows that I was not wrong.

The Trustees of this most valuable Institution, have made some *change* in its administration 'tis true, but it is utterly incompatible with *reform.* They have affected to listen to your reiterated demands for reform, but have shamefully faltered in the performance of their duty, and attempted to deceive you. They have disregarded the responsibility of their stations.—They have abused and prostituted the highest trust that could be conferred on man, the destiny of unborn generations, to the most abominable *favoritism.* They have been *trustees* of the interests of some of their *favorites*, not *trustees of the interests* of your College.

I will demonstrate to your satisfaction I think, the truth of these charges

The President of the Board, his Excellency Gov. McDuffie, in a message sent to the Legislature on the state of the Collego, says, "Deeply and solemnly impressed with a sense of the responsibilty of their duties, the members of the Board have been for more than two weeks in constant session." &c. "These laborious and protracted sessions have been devoted to an enquiry into the causes which have led to the present deplorable state of decay and disrepute into which the institution has fallen. This investigation has resulted in a most thorough conviction founded upon information derived from authentic sources in every quarter of the State, that the Faculty of the College have become so generally obnoxious to our fellow citizens, on the score of the religious heresies of some of them, and of the relaxation of moral and general discipline, and have so irrevocably lost the public confidence as suitable persons to guard the morals and mould the opinions of the rising generation, as to render a *radical reform* and thorough re-organization of the Institution a measure of indispensible necessity, and the only practicable means of reviving its prosperity and extending its usefulness." He then goes on to inform you that the Faculty were requested to resign their offices, which they did; and that the Board proceeded to fill the vacancies thus created He proceeds to inform you thro' your Representatives, *who* were elected to the several Professorships; and announces that Professor Nott, has been re-elected Professor of Logic and Belles-letters.

What! tell you in one breath that their investigation into the causes of the decline of the College, "had resulted in *a most thorough conviction* that the Faculty of the College have become *so generally obnoxious on the score of the supposed religious heresies of some of them*, and have so irrevocably *lost the public confidence as suitable persons to guard the morals and mould the opinions of the rising generation*, as to render a radical reform and re-organization of the Institution *a measure of indispensable necessity*," and in the next, announce to you the re-election of one of those very obnoxious persons?--one whom it is well known is a most violent heretic. And here let me observe in the outset, that I have no personal animosity against Mr. Nott to gratify ; that I have a high respect for his learning, and deportment as a gentleman ; and regret that whilst I censure high public functionaries, and show the discrepancy between their professions and their conduct, I am obliged to call in question his religious opinions--a matter which I humbly believe is between man and his God only, and not between man and man. But society has ordained otherwise ; and a man's religious opinions whilst he is in public office are as much public property as his services. I have a right

therefore, to discuss them without further apology, & shall not shrink from 'the responsibilty.'

I have said that Mr. Nott is heretical. According to the rules of pleading in the Courts of Equity, when a fact is known only to the defendant, and is desired to be brought out by the complainant, he may charge it, and require the defendant to answer on oath whether or not, it be as stated in the bill of complaint, and if he neglect or refuse to answer, the matter charged, is taken pro confesso, as the lawyers call it, and judgment is awarded accordingly. Now then, I call upon such of the Board of Trustees as are intimate with Mr. Nott, (and I know there are many) to say whether they do not *know* that he is heretical, nay deistical. I challenge them to the *denial*. It is well known to all his friends and acquaintances, in and out of Columbia, and to the students in College, that *he is so*.

"By your works, shall you be judged;" let us see then, if we cannot find his opinions on the subject of religion and morality stamped upon the pages of his book entitled "Novellettes of a traveller," in the most artful, insidious, and destructive manner. Let us see if we cannot trace his sentiments on the subject, and the light estimate which he sets upon the canons of the decalogue, established by Christian society, in written evidence, furnished by himself.

In the "Biographical sketch of Thomas Singularity," after the recital of a string of the most disgusting and abominable arts and villanies, lying, gambling, cheating, drunkenness and debaucheries committed by his hero and his companion, he is made to say, (1st vol. p. 23.) "After all, what had we done? we were of an age when it is natural and proper to exceed the cold and calculating rules of speculative morality; we had done no more than Burns, Sheridan, Fox, and many other geniuses, whose foibles served only for a foil to show off the pure and brilliant water of the gem."

"The strawberry grows underneath the nettle,
And wholesome berries thrive and ripen best
Neighboured by fruit of baser quality."

Read the above, fellow citizens, again and again, and reflect what a deadly poison is thus poured into the hearts of your sons. Here they are distinctly told by their instructor, (high authority too, to the tender mind) that it is *necessary and proper* to exceed *the cold and calculating* rules of morality, in order that the brilliancy of their geniuses may be shewn off to the best advantage. Gracious heaven! did Mr. Nott reflect when he was writing this, to what interminable woes, does a single deviation from the path of human virtues lead us? Did he reflect upon its fatal influence upon the minds of the young, ardent, ambitious, rash, "new to life'? Or has he, as is suspected of Byron, "given you here a thread of" his "own life; or that for which he lives"?—I blush for him.

But let us scan the sentimemt a little farther.

———Wholesome berries thrive and ripen *best*
Neighboured by *fruit of baser quality.*

This, it is true, is a quotation; but it is adopted by Mr. Nott as his opinion, in making it. What a lesson of morality! what a precept to be instilled by a Professor in a College, into the hearts of his pupils!—that they will *thrive and ripen best* in the companionship of the vulgar, base and abandonded! What a shocking doctrine to be impressed upon the youthful heart!—that it is *necessary and proper*, to lie, steal, cheat, get drunk, (for that is *exceeding the rules of morality*,) and associate with the *base* and depraved part of mankind in order that we may show our own good qualities, to the best advantage.

But where is the man amongst you, who in your intercourse with men, may not mark the fate of some genius who has adopted Mr. Nott's code of morals? Which one of you, may not recall to your mind the miserable fate of some highly gifted shool-fellow, who has fallen a wretched victem to Mr. Nott's code of morals; I could name many, but lest I should wound the feelings of some surviving relative or friend, I will "close up the curtain."

Let us still go a little further into Mr. Nott's book.—At page 94, 1st vol. it is written: "His reason for drinking was rather singular, viz: that he loved it. It was like a natural taste for music. He thought that as the Creator wills the happiness of his creatures, all inclinations are implanted to be gratified, and, not to use them, would look like spurning the blessings placed before us."

What another most abominable, disgusting, immoral, and indelicate lesson, to be stamped upon the minds of your son!—*that all inclinations are implanted to be gratified;* and lest we offend our God, by spurning his blessings, it is *natural and proper*, to gratify them.

Is there a man amongst you, whose feelings are not shocked and outraged at this debasement of man, to the level of the brute? Is there a father of a family amongst you, who would permit a man professing these sentiments, to enter your house, and feel, that your wife and daughters, were safe in his company? Where is the man of any intelligence or experience in the varied ways of human life, who does not know, that at best, "the strongest oaths are but straw to the fire in the blood;" and that it is absolutely necessary to keep vigilant sentry over our passions, that the "white-cold virgin snow of virtue," may "abate the ardour of our liver."

Who amongst you that is a father, is willing

that his son shall be taught, that drunkenness is like "a natural taste for music," implanted in his nature, and irresistible; rather than that it is a habit induced by idleness, bad company, and bad example—which may be overcome by reflection and philosophy? Who amongst you, is willing that his son shall be taught, that if the debauchery of drunkenness, affords him pleasure, he should gratify the inclination for it, lest he should seem to "spurn the blessings placed before him;" rather, than that he should be taught, that self-denial and restraint are virtues worthy of practice; that the canons of the decalogue, contain the only true and safe guide to happiness? Who would not prefer, that his son should be educated in the rigid doctrine, that

——"All delights are vain ; but that most vain,
Which with pain purchased, doth inherit pain."

Are you willing, fellow citizens, to pay Professors of such principles of morality as I have quoted, out of *your treasury?* Will you send your sons to the College, where such heresies are taught? *Taught*, I say, for the book is in the hands of every student in College—devoured, and lauded by unwary youth? Or, will you not "send them, to foreign institutions, where they *may* imbibe foreign notions," (in politics, I presume his Excellency meant,) in preference to sending them to the South Carolina College, under its present administration, where they *will inevitably* imbibe such false notions of morality and virtue, as must ruin their happiness forever. For my own part, I shall run the risk of the political principles of my sons being contaminated by a Yankee atmosphere, in preference to their being preserved purely Southern, whilst in moral principle, they are degraded to a level with the brute.

I might go on to multiply quotations, from Professor Nott's "most delightful little volumes" to shew the insidious and dangerous character of the work. But I shall be charged with garbling. Besides, the poison is so artfully infused into almost every page, as to render it a difficult task to separate and unveil it, and I therefore earnestly urge you, to read, mark, and digest the whole work. See, whether or not, the most dangerous and destructive doctrines are not embodied in it.—Read the whole book—that *is* the fairest mode of judging it; and you will likewise see whether or not, my strctures be just and true. The price is only $1 25

The whole story of 'Singularity,' is a disgusting tissue of debaucheries, of a low-bred, vulgar fellow, robed in the specious panoply of *genius:* A most dangerous example to hold up to the youthful eye: a gilded pill, "sweet to taste," but "in digestion sour." It is too much in character with the fashionable novels of the day, in which all the most sacred obligations of nature and society are violated with the utmost sang-froid—their heroes invested with all the outward polish of gentlemen, all the recommendations of fortune, and elegance of manners, which are considered a full equivalent for virtue. But, Mr. Nott should have remembered, that the writers of the fashionable novels, write for pence, or to please the fashionable fancy; but that he is a public servant, in a *high and responsible station*, and amenable to the public, for every thought, and word, and act.

Am I wrong then, fellow citizens, in calling the course pursued by the Board of Trustees, in electing to a high and responsible station in your College, as a Teacher of your sons, one whom they acknowledge they have ascertained is obnoxious to you—or whose religious notions they *knew would be* offensive to you, the rankest favoritism?—I apprehend not; and think you will concur with me in opinion.

You are told in so many words; " we know that this gentleman's religious opinions are obnoxious to you, and prevent you from sending your sons to the College, which is sustained with your money, but, he is a *particular friend* of some members of our body, and therefore, you must be content to pay him $2000 per annum, and let us not hear a murmur from your lips: *we say it must be so, and you must obey.*" No, you will not be obliged to them, for that which is your own, and I apprehend will have the courage to reply, "*we* pay the piper, and he must play to suit *our taste*, vulgar or perverted as it may be."

The appointment of Dr. R. Wilson Gibbes, to the post of Lecturer in Chymistry, for the present year, is a *little* piece of favoritism, utterly unworthy the guardians of the highest literary Institution in the Southern States.—Is there magic in a name?

"Why should that name be sounded more than yours?
Write them together, yours is as fair a name;
Sound them, it doth become the mouth as well;
Weigh them, it is as heavy; conjure with them,
Yours will start a spirit as soon as his."

Why was the Professorship of Chymistry left open? Was there no fit and proper candidate? or was it for the purpose of giving profitable employment a little longer, to another favorite of some influential member of the Board, at your expense? I apprehend the last to be the true reason; for it is well known, that Dr. Cooper, with all his sins upon his head, is at least as orthodox as Professor Nott, and certainly, quite as competent to fill the station which he occupied. It is confidently believed, that he has forgotten more of the pretty little experiments in the science of chymistry, than Doctor Gibbes ever knew.—I by no means intend to

be understood, as now advocating Dr. Cooper's re-election; but make the remark concerning him, by the way, in further illustration of the odious system of favoritism and peculation, carried on by our public men. There is no good reason for thus filling the Chymical chair, except, that it was quite convenient to give Dr. Gibbes $1500, for little more than seven months service in making water, by a combination of gasses, and shewing the effect of the nitrous oxide gas.

From the best information I am able to collect, and I have made diligent enquiry, I am thoroughly convinced, that his genius is better suited to the science I suggested in my first paper, than that of Chymistry.

With regard to the measures of reform adopted towards the venerable and much respected Mr. Park, I have to remark, that the course first projected by the Board, that of giving him the places of Librarian, and Secretary and Treasurer of the Board, was in the highest degree creditable to them. These offices, he is perfectly competent to fill, and would have discharged the duties of them with credit. But, the subsequent manœuvreing by which he was juggled out of them, to be bestowed upon a sycophant, and he put upon half pay pension, are utterly disgraceful.

Which of you, that is a graduate of the College, who does not cherish the remembrance of his paternal care and attention to you? Which of you, that is a graduate of the College, who does not remember his philanthropy, his benevolence, his forbearance, his anxious solicitude to throw a veil over the aberrations of giddy youth, and his efforts to extricate them from difficulties when arraigned before the faculty? What graduate does not remember, that when he admonished, he did it in so kind a tone, as to win his highest respect, and bind him to his heart forever? What graduate of the College, will not mourn when he hears the fate of this venerable, and good old man? I am proud of the honor of being one, and declare, that "my heart is drown'd with sorrow," on the occasion; and I confidently believe that there is not one, whose heart will not swell with sympathy, when he hears the fate of this faithful, and now worn out old public servant. But where gentlemen of the Board of Trustees, who are graduates of the College, where were your hearts, when you suffered yourselves to be seduced from your duty, by the stratagems of an artful politician, and gave your sanction to throw the venerable Park, upon the cold charity of the world, in his helpless old age? Certainly not in their right places—Or shall I more charitably presume, that you were under a "natural delusion"—dazzled by the superior effulgence, and were the too willing satellites of this Southern Star. If you do not reflect upon it, with a bitter sigh of regret, your hearts are callous, and you are unworthy to be called men.

Another most shameful dereliction from duty, and glaring piece of *favoritism*, perpetrated by the Trustees, in utter disregard of the *interest of the College*, is in the appointment of Mr E. W Johnston to the Professorship of Modern Languages, and Librarian, and Secretary to the Board, with a salary of $1000.

You will perceive, by reference to the message of his Excellency Gov. McDuffie, that he does not inform you, of the filling of this place. Why?—Because it was intended to bestow it upon a favorite, by a stroke of legerdemain. The transaction, is one of those little pieces of political *stratagy*, in which our great men *are already too well disciplined;* and which you ought to know, and will execrate. In full meeting of the Board, the place was left open; but, on the last day of the sitting of the Legislature, when most of the Board would be otherwise engaged, and could not attend, a meeting was got up by some of Johnston's friends—(I had almost said *little* Johnston, or as I have sometimes heard him called *little* Cock Robin; for *little* in the worst sense, is the almost unanimous epithet bestowed upon him in Columbia.) Few attended; and in this lean minority, it was proposed to appoint Johnston to the place.—It was objected, and urged against him, that he was a man of loose morals, (or rather, destitute of morals): also, that from indubitable authority, it was his constant practice, to occupy himself on Sundays, with fishing; and that he frequently induced some of the students to accompany him. To these, Gen Hamilton (a member of the Board replied with his usual "suaviter in modo," "Oh! Gentlemen, that ought not to be an objection to my friend Johnston; for our Saviour himself, fished in the sea of Galilee on the Sabbath, and broke corn, and healed the sick, on the Sabbath day."

Whether it was on the Sabbath day or not, that our Saviour fished in the lake of Gennesaret, is not mentioned in scripture; but of this, I am sure, that whatever Gen. Hamilton says, (with a certain set of men at least,) must be gospel: his mere name will commend it.—But what say *you*, fellow citizens, of this potent argument in favor of Sabbath breaking?—Shame! Shame! have you lost your blush?—Johnston's claims for *services rendered*, were there upon pressed with vigor, and he was elected to the post, at a meeting of ten or a dozen, out of *twenty five* of the Board, who were in Columbia, and would, in all probability have attended, had a more seasonable time been appointed. Thus, by this most shameful artifice, and abandonment of principle to *favoritism*, have you had foisted into your most important

Institutions, as an Instructer, and paid *with your money*, a man totally destitute of capability, and utterly unworthy your confidence or respect, or that of the Students over whom he will preside--who has not, cannot have, even the respect of the men who make use of him:—who has had the audacity, under the patronage of a few, to abuse and vilify, and *blackguard* every one, that did not fall down and worship his idols, Calhoun, Hayne, Hamilton, M'Duffie, Preston, and the minor rulers of the State.—who has grown so vain, whilst he is fatted out of *your treasury*, as insolently to assume the imperial purple, and play the part of the ass with his masters; who has the impudence, whilst he is fed and clothed out of *your treasury*, to slander and abuse, some of your most worthy and respectable officers and citizens, who *dared to differ* in political opinion with his masters. Thus, I say, have you had this man foisted upon you; and will any one doubt, *can you for a moment doubt*, that it is the price of his servility and sycophancy, to a certain set of men? It *is* beyond doubt.—*Here* then, as well as at Washington, you see "men of high honor and unblemished integrity in all the relations of private life; who would shrink with abhorrence from the perpetration of an act of individual injustice, voting with an undisturbed conscience for measures of legislative plunder;"—and rewarding their sycophants and favorites with public offices, and *public money*. And will you be the willing slaves of a Jacobin club, and its miserable little panders? Will you bestow without a murmur of discontent, your hard-earned money, to the support of a fellow, who dispises you, and daily has the impudence to tell you so?

Will you allow any set of men to pamper their jackal at your expense? Will you allow their *mere names* to commend any measure that is not founded in honesty, truth and justice? If you *do*, you are not men; you are old women, who are over-reached by the simplest artifices—deceived by the flimsiest pretexts--juggled by the lowest legerdemain. If you *do submit* to such abuses, you are unworthy to be called freemen—you are slaves, that labor for your masters, obey when commanded, and will ere long, be dispised when you complain. You are dogs, that bark when you are bid, come when you are whistled for, and sneak when you are scolded.

There is no occasion however, for the Professorship. Every teacher in our academies is a professor of modern languages, and the youths that come to College are already advanced beyond what is held out to be taught here; so that this Professor, if he is qualified, has nothing to do, but amuse himself with tripping over the fields, attired in his silver grey war coat, with a pack of pointers in his train, in pursuit of small game, or with fishing all day; for a glorious nibble. The truth is, that it is akin to a professorship made some three or four years ago for a blackguard German (Prince as some said) named Michalowitz. The professorship is made to fill the man, not the man to fill the station. The Library can be put in charge of Mr Park, a worthy citizen, as it was before the days of nullification. Insist upon it therefore, that this fellow be dismissed. It is an outrage upon common sense and common honesty, that the people shall be taxed for the support of Gen. Hamilton's livery men. If Gen. H. finds this man a necessary auxiliary to his fame, let *him* support him out of his own treasury, not yours.

But let me demonstrate to you in another view, bright as the sun, the abominable, nay, *infamous* favoritism practised by the Trustees of your College, in appointing this man Johnston to the office of Librarian and Treasurer. They have just deposed their treasurer, for alleged defalcations of the funds of the College, and they put into the office a defalcator of the moneys of another public institution. It is known to some of you, though probably not generally throughout the State, that some two or three years ago, Mr. E. W. Johnston was appointed, through the agency of Gen. Hamilton and Col. Preston, Secretary and Treasurer to the board of Regents of the Lunatic Asylum. In this situation, he necessarily received large sums of money; and it was his duty to keep the books of the institution in such manner as to exhibit all his receipts and expenditures of its funds: nevertheless, common report says, that the books were not so kept; but on the contrary are in such confusion and derangement that it is impossible to gain any correct information from them. Persons whose friends were inmates of the institution, appeared from the books to be in arrear for their maintenance and support; and upon being applied to, replied that they had paid all demands to the Treasurer.—Yet the books exhibit no credits to their accounts. This state of things, was permitted (from partizan feelings doubtless) to exist some length of time, and finally, Mr Treasurer Johnston resigned his office, to get rid of the importunities of the Regents for a settlement; and the books, it is said, remain to this day, unsettled, and in the utmost confusion.*

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*By analogy, we may judge of the state of the books of the mercantile concern of E. W. & A. S. Johnston, when they burst their boiler some years ago, and which were afterwards certified by Colonels Butler and Brown, to have the appearance of correctness. I presume however, that the examination of them by those

Letters in the possession of the Board of Regents, and the books themselves, raise an irresistible presumption that he is in arrear to the institution in a large amount. And yet fellow citizens, with these facts staring them in the face, have the Trustees of your College elected to a responsible station in that institution, a man who has little character, and so little regard for that little, as to rest perfectly contented under the imputation of embezzlement. But what excuse can they possibly offer you for so gross an abuse of their high trust? How can they palliate so great a prostitution of every principle of common honesty? To be most charitable, I lay it to the account of party fury, and that is sufficient to make them hide their heads. They (or some of them) dare not say they did not *know it;* for that would be committing another offence to hide the first. I charge it home to M. Wm. F De Saussure. He was, and is now, a Regent of the Asylum; *he necessarily knew the whole affair.* He is a trustee of the South Carolina College, and was present at the late sittings of that body in December last; and yet concealed the facts, and gave his sanction to the election of Johnston to the post he now occupies. Mr. De Saussure knows the law doctrine, "the receiver &c." I will not challenge him to the denial:--he dare not deny the knowledge of the facts. the whole board of Regents are witnessess against him, and I therefore charge *him* with knowingly, wilfully, and in violation of every principle of honor and honesty, concealing the truth, and permitting Johnston to be elected, when by raising his voice in defence of honesty, he might have consigned him to oblivion.

But I demand of Col D. J. McCord, Col. P. M. Buttler, Col. F. H. Elmore, Col. Jas Gregg, Judge De Saussure, Judge David Johnson, Col. Wade Hampton, and Dr. Edward Fisher, sen. all trustees of the College, and residents of Columbia, if you, or either of you, ever heard of the deranged state of the affairs of the Treasurer of the Asylum? Did you, or either of you, ever hear that Johnston was a defaulter to that institution to a large amount—and if yea, did you, or either of you, raise your voice against him, before the board of Trustees of the College, when he was a candidate for the office which he now holds in the College? Did you, or either of you, state to the Board that it was the current report in Columbia, that he was a defaulter to the Asylum? I demand your answer. If you have any regard for your reputations, you dare not withhold them.--The presumption is, that you did hear the charge against Johnston; and that you are guilty of the most flagrant abuse of your high trust.

Thus fellow citizens, have I exposed to your view, one of the most dishonest transactions, and flagrant abuses of your confidence, that has for some time disgraced our country. To be honorable, honest, just and true, is no longer virtuous. Party spirit has driven virtue from our land, and it is now only necessary to be a zealous partizan, to obtain the confidence and recommendations of our highest officers and reputed best citizens. The vilest scoundrel in the State, the most contemptible drunkard, the verriest liar and debauchee, can procure a certificate of good character from our highest officers and citizens, and get office too, provided he be a zealous partizan. Who dares deny this? What a deplorable state of degradation have we sunk into! What a reflection for a patriot, and an honest man! If these are not the times that call loudly for reform, when will that period arrive? Virtue cries aloud from her banishment, and demands to be reinstated in purity upon her throne.

Of the same character, is the retention of Mr. Louis Gibbes in the post of Mathematician protem. There is no more occasion for him than there is for a Professor of Gov. M'Duffie's Military stratagy and tactics: Or of his Professor of fencing, boxing, gouging and nose-biting. They are only modes of gratifying the whim-whams of the Governor, or feeding and clothing some favorite or relative of some honorable member of the Board of Trustees out of your treasury.

Let us take another view of this subject, which sets the conduct of your rulers in rather a ridiculous light, and exhibits the glaring inconsistency between their *professions and actions.*

The Board of Trustees of the S. Carolina College was composed at its late meetings, of the following gentlemen, viz: His Excellency Gov *Hayne*, Hon. *Henry Deas*, *Patrick Noble*, *David Johnson*, John B. ONeall, *Wm. Harper*, *Henry W. De Saussure*, Job Johnston, E. H. Bay, Richard Gantt, John S. Richardson, *B J. Earle*, Josiah J Evans, and *A.P. Butler*,--*F. H. Elmore*, *James Gregg*, *Wade Hampton*, *jun.*, Alfred Huger, D. E. Huger,

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gentlemen was such another up-side-down affair, as Maj. Jack Downing's examination of the books of the Bank of the U. States, and they doubtless certified truly, when they said that they were *fair and correct*, i. e. by an up-side-down inspection. Mr Johnston must produce a certificate from the Regents of the Asylum, of the state of his books whilst Treasurer, and an exhibit of his settlement with them; and let us see what sort of an up-side-down affair that will be.--Col. Butler's 'mere name,' will not do this time. Facts, are rather more stubborn things, than "mere names;" and the people will require something more substantial, to exonerate him. The magic of 'mere names,' is rapidly vanishing.

Wm. F. Davie, Richard I. Manning, *D. J. McCord*, *T. T. Player*, *P. E. Pearson*, W. B. Seabrook, *Waddy Thompson jr. D. L. Wardlaw*, *P. M. Butler*, *Thomas Glover*, *Thos. J. Wethers*, *Edward Fisher*, *sen.*, *James Rose*, *William F. De Saussure*, *James Hamilton*, and *C. Bookter*.--Governor McDuffie is now, by virtue of his office, President of the Board. Of the whole, those whose names are in *italics* (25 in number) were in Columbia, and were present at the late meetings.--Mark then, how many of these, have been your professed, nay, your acknowledged and most vociferous rulers.

These very "shrewd tempters with their tongues" have for years past, loudly declaimed against yankee tariffs, frauds, robberies, and oppressions against the South.—Long and loudly have they preached the danger of introducing yankee teachers into our public seminaries of learning—long and loudly have they remonstrated with you, upon the danger of sending your sons 'to foreign institutions, where they may imbibe foreign notions' in politics, incompatible with our Southern institutions and policy; and yet we see these very men, now that they have carried out their mad ambitious projects, and rode thro' the whirlwind and storm upon your shoulders, suddenly abandoning their principles, and mocking your credulity by telling you, 'there are no parties'—that they were under 'a natural delusion;' and that a yankee is as well qualified as any other man, for a Professor in your College.—Long have we heard these men, loudly inveighing against yankee notions, yankee arrogance, and yankee influence in our State, and yet we now see them on all occasions, (and some of them already high in office, and covered with honors, upon a very recent occasion, the election of Directors in a yankee Insurance Company,) smirking and smiling cap in hand, cozying, haggling and chaffering, with the yankee-doodles for more offices.

Notwithstanding all their *talk* for years past, their railings, and denunciations of the Federal administration for favoritism and unauthorised assumptions of power, these very men assume power which does not belong to them--recklessly 'take the responsibility,' and press into your service *their favorites and flatterers*, against your known will, in violation of the trust reposed in them, and in direct opposition to their declarations to you, when they wanted your support.

Let us see what the present great head of the 'authority of the State,' whose 'mere name' too, commends every thing that comes from *his* lips, say upon the subject, and whether or not, he is guilty of some glaring inconsistencies.

In his inaugural address, he exhibits before your eyes, a picture of the "distinct and independent *political organization*," and "direct and irreconcilable conflict of pecuniary interest," existing between the manufacturing and exporting States, 'aggravated by the prejudices of a blind fanaticism against our domestic institutions,' on their part—inveighs bitterly against their rapacity and injustice—discloses 'the full extent of the depth and danger which impends over' the Southern States in consequence of the rivalry and jealousy existing between the Northern laborer, and Southern slave-holder—warns us, of the 'impending destruction'—mourns over the propable storms 'which some of our children will yet live to encounter'—exhorts us "to prepare the *rising generation* to act well their part on the grand theatre of human affairs according to the emergencies in which Providence may place them"—recalls our attention from the Federal government, whither it has been "so exclusively directed for many years past, from the necessity of resisting its alarming encroachments, that we have too much neglected this appropriate field of State legislation and State policy, and permitted our domestic institutions to fall into the most deplorable state of decay and dilapidation"—urges us to explore the causes of the decline of our College, and "to devote our zealous and united exertions to the work of its revival"—recalls to our minds "the deep interest we all must feel in preparing an edifice and rearing up a seminary, where all the youth in the State can be educated in the highest departments of useful and ornamental knowledge—thus superseding the necessity *of sending them to foreign institutions, where they may imbibe foreign notions*"—acknowledges tha the Board of Trustees of our College, "are of the opinion, and they have *my full concurrence*, that *the confidence* and *cordial support* of the people of the State, are essential to the re-establishment of the institution upon such a basis as will insure the accomplisment of the great ends for which it was originally created;"—and yet, 'by some strange infatuation,' some 'natural delusion,' or some gross abuse of his high 'endowment of that political sagacity' 'which looks before and after,' tells us in his very first official document, (Message No 1) that the board of Trustees had elected "four Professors, all of them possessing it is confidently believed *the most eminent qualification*"—

that Mr. *Cogswell of Massachusetts*," (the "foundation of our past and future danger," —the very hot-bed of prejudice and fanaticism against our domestic institutions—the parent of abolition societies, and source whence emanated prohibitive tariffs, and unjust and unconstitutional laws for plundering the Southern States,) has been elected Professor of Greek and Roman literature."

True it is, fellow citizens, that "*the confidence* and cordial support of the people of the State *are* essential" to the successful operation of our College, and all other of our institutions. But how can these men expect it, when they have shamefully abused that with which they are invested? How can they ask it, without a blush, when they stand convicted of the most glaring discrepancies between their professions and actions? How dare they ask *your confidence* in future, when they have none in each other, and are higgling amongst themselves for the benefit of their special favorites? How dare they ask *your confidence*, when they are deceiving you with arts of political legerdemain, and make a benefit of your blindness? How dare they ask *your confidence* and *cordial support* when some of them are preaching a funeral sermon over your rights and liberties, and the rest making profit of the corpse?—How dare they claim *your confidence and support*, when they stand before you convicted of being faithless and treacherous sentinels on your watch-towers, crying "all's well," whilst *they* put a firebrand in the temple of your liberties?

But there is yet another piece of political trickery in part practised upon you, and to be carried out, at the next annual meeting of the Board of trustees of your College, in November next, which it becomes me to unveil to your sight.

Let us return a moment to the message of Governor McDuffie. He tells you that "Mr. Cogswell of Massachusetts, who has been for many years, known to some of the members of the Board, as the head of an eminently successful institution in that State has been elected Professor of Greek and Roman literature. He is a gentleman of profound and various learning, and of such *peculiar talents* for imparting instruction to his pupils, and commanding their respect, that an eminent judge of such matters, pronounced him to be every way qualified for the Presidency of Harvard University: and the Board have been informed on good authority, that he wanted but a single vote, to have been placed at the head of the first literary institution of Pennsylvania."—(Perhaps at as *full* a board, as that which elected Johnston to a post in your college.

Can any one doubt or misconceive the meaning of the above extract?—Do you not see that it is intended to pave the way to the election of Mr. Cogswell to the presidency? Do you not see clearly that it is intended to try the experiment upon you, and see how the wind blows before they will venture to embark? It may not appear upon a cursory reading, but taken in connexion with its language, tenor, and intended effect, the following facts, and the matter is set before your eyes as clearly as a noonday sun: Know, then, that at the very time of the late sittings of the Trustees, Mr. Gogswell was in Columbia, looking after the Presidency of the College:—that it was whispered in his ear, by an Hon. member of the Board, that he must be content for the present with the professorship, and that he shall be elected to the Presidency, at the next annual meeting—that it was necessary to smooth the way, and prepare the public mind for his advancement, &c:—Upon these assurances, he slipped his cable and put off. These facts are not generally known, but are not the less true on that account, and I challenge a refutation of the charge.

Thus again fellow citizens, have you been lulled "into a false and fatal security"—deceived by the cry of "all's well," and your confidence abused.

Let us take a more general view, of the reckless course of ambition and favoritism of these men, and further illustrate the glaring discrepancies between their professions and actions

The present head of the party, the Chief ruler of the State, tells us in his inaugural address, that he returns from the war of words at Washington, faint and weary, but "with a heart unalienated by absence, unseduced from its true allegiance by the blandishments of Federal power, and undefiled by the worship of false Gods and *foreign* idols:"—that he is "solemnly impressed with the fatal prochivity of the *Federal Government*, towards absolute despotism:"—draws a hideous picture of its rapid strides towards that point:—compliments you, upon your late successful attempt to check the *federal* monster in his career—congratulates you on the final ratification of the late amendment of your Constitution, that "hoop of gold" that is to bind all parties together,—take a hasty view of the dispute between the two parties in the State, with regard to the said amendment, "not only for the purpose of ex-

hibiting the *true character of the controversy*, but for the purpose of shewing that *proscription and exclusion are utterly abhorrent* to the principles of those with whom" he has "been politically associated;"—tells you, that they were animated by patriotism—acted with wisdom, prudence and energy, and conducted you triumphantly through the difficulties of an unequal contest with the Federal government; and exhorts you, to offer up "all political animosities, upon the altar of patriotism, and disdaining *a miserable and mercenary and degrading scramble for the public offices*, which has disgraced the policy, and corrupted the morals of too many *other States*, direct our ambition to the more glorious rivalry of trying who can do most, to render South Carolina an enlightened, prosperous and happy community."

We will consider these several propositions and see how they will bear analization, notwithstanding we have "his mere name to commend them."

It is not true, that "proscription and exclusion are utterly abhorrent to the principles" of these arrogant and domineering rulers: it is not true, that they have heretofore *disdained*, or intend now to abandon "a miserable and mercenary and degrading scramble for the public offices:" it is not true, that they have been actuated by patriotism, and have been governed by prudence, wisdom, justice and impartiality—and who amongst you, that will look back with a pure heart and unbiased judgment, "to the trying and perilous crisis," when father and son were arrayed against each other, and brothers were at daggers draw, but will support my assertion? Who does not remember how utterly impossible it has been for one that did not submit (aye, peaceably and unconditionally submit) to their dictation and authority, to have obtained even the post of scavenger or lamp-lighter in any of your towns?—Or is it forgotten how many of you "have forfeited the character of patriots," whilst venturing to contend for justice in opposition to the dominant party of the State?—And yet these men, now that the delusion is vanishing, and their power weakening, have the unblushing hardihood, through their high priest, to tell you, that "proscription and exclusion are utterly abhorrent to their principles."

Look back, upon the history of the *crisis* emphatically so called—look to the very first moment of the formation and organization of the *patriot band*, insolently so self styled: what was their first step? I earnestly and emphatically ask, what *was* their very first step? I pause for a reply.——— None! Then will I fearlessly tell you It was, to *seize* upon the press—bind the proprietors of such as were willing to become their slavish tools, over to their good behaviour, and to crush and destroy those, that would not yield a ready obedience to their will.

The necessity of resisting the aggressions of the Northern monopolist, compelled, the majority to support *them*, whilst the operations of the odious tariff laws was being resisted, and they thus succeeded in making firm their steps towards the absolute despotism they have since wielded. Our attention was so rivited upon our foreign enemy, that the vipers within our own bosom were not suspected. They knew well that "if money go before, all ways do lie open," and they therefore made promises of rich rewards, to such as were willing to become panders of their will. Self interest is the ruling passion still, and they succeeded too well, in gaining men over to their views. These transactions passed in every city and village in the State, where a newspaper was established; but I speak more informedly of what transpired in Columbia.

Early in the year 1829, Colonel William C. Preston called upon Mr. Daniel Faust, then proprietor of the "State Gazette," and in a conversation on the political events of the day, wherein he descanted with his usual eloquence and ability, upon the efficacy of nullification, in restoring the equilibrium of power which we had lost, he asked him, whether or not he would support the principles of nullification, embodied in the resolutions lately passed by the legislature; and upon Mr. Faust's refusal to compromise his political principles, Col. Preston emphatically replied, "then Sir, we will set up a press in opposition to yours;" or words to that effect. I challenge Col. Preston, on his character for veracity, to deny the fact. The party in Columbia, withdrew their patronage from Mr. Faust's paper, induced others to do so, and in a short time, compelled him to sell out at a reduced price; for, endowed with that political sagacity, "which looks before and after," he saw the impending storm, and resolved to avert it from himself in pecuniary matters at least; And yet, these very men have the audacity to tell you, through their chief, that "proscription and exclusion are utterly abhorrent to their principles."

But to proceed.—McMorris, a cur of theirs, bought up Mr. Faust's press, (with whose money they only know; but this much I know, that it *looked* much like the Contingent fund money,) and commenced simultaneously, a siren song in praise of nullification, and a tirade of abuse against every one that did not advocate it.—Poor Sims too, of the Telescope, and his aids, were about the same time bought over to their service by fair promises of thrift, to aid their cause, which was then too slow in its progress; for they well knew, that 'fiery ex-

pedition is the herald for a king.' But he not having courage enough for a bravo, was soon paid his wages, dismissed the service, and his press transferred to the estate of Col. Preston & Co. (not with any view of advancing his aggrandizement, mind you,) and set up with renewed vigor under the name of A. S. Johnston, Little E. W. Johnston, was set up like a poodle, in the editorial chair; not that they believed he was any more fond of fighting than Sims, notwithstanding his brawling about Gov. Miller's *right to fight;* but because they knew that by the interposition of such a pismire they might successfully commit any outrage against individual character or public feeling with impunity. His insignificance protected him from castigation, whilst the real players of the infamous game were unseen and irresponsible to the public.

What was the conduct of the Telescope at that time, and what its conduct, up to the present moment?—The influential men of the Union party, and every other man, who differed in political opinion with its masters, were slandered, vilified, abused, and blackguarded without mercy, or the least ceremony; and yet, fellow citizens, with these facts, staring them in the face, these men have the audacity to tell you, that "proscription and exclusion are utterly abhorrent to their principles."

But let us go a little further, and see how the press *was* proscribed and gagged.—The "angry ape" of the Telescope,

> "Play'd such fantastic tricks before high heaven,"

as to arouse the indignation of the whole community, and some of the Union party invited Dr. Landrum (who had heretofore braved the torrent of abuse at Edgefield C. H.) to come to Columbia. He came, and set up 'The Hive,' to assert the rights of the minority and combat the fury of this "pelting petty officer." But how fared he here?—He was insulted and abused with every epithet that ever entered the imagination of the lowest blackguard on earth—dragooned, *beaten* and *nullified;* and when he appealed to the law's strong arm, for redress of the outrages committed upon his person, was turned out of your Courts by the womanish imbecility of one of your Judges, who lacked the courage and independence, to maintain and enforce the majesty of the law, with a sermon upon the impropriety of entering into political discussions, whereby the angry passions of men may be aroused, and *the peace and dignity* of the State violated—and a maternal admonition to the aggressing defendant in the words of a little spiritual song, which many of you may remember to have been taught by your good old grandmothers.

> "Let dogs delight to bark and bite,
> For God hath made them so,
> Let bears and lions growl and fight
> For 'tis theire nature, too: &c."

And will not a blush of shame mantle the cheeks of those who induced Dr. Landrum to come here, when it is told of them that they deserted their cause like dastards, threw away their pens, fled like sheep before the curs, and basely abandoned him to his fate.

Who, amongst you, does not remember these facts? who, but can verify what I have said? and yet you see these men, having the impudence and hardihood, to stand up before you in the light of heaven, and tell you that "proscription and exclusion are utterly abhorrent to their principles"

If you submit to so gross an insult to your understanding, "you do want those sparks of life that should be in" a Carolinian. If you do sumbit to it.

> ——————"our father's minds are dead'
> And we are govern'd with our mother's spirits;
> Our yoke and sufferance show us womanish."

What was the second step towards establishing *their* government, insolently styled "the authority of the State"? Why, to *proscribe*, every public officer in the State from the highest, to the lowest—from your Senator in Congress, to your catch-polls, that dared to raise his voice against their rule, and forever thereafter, to *exclude* them from office.

What citizen of South Carolina, does not remember, whilst a blush crimsons his cheek, the miserable and degrading shuffling and playing into each others hands, committed by the two great Southern luminaries Calhoun and Hayne? Who, does not remember to have witnessed the degrading spectacle of one of our highest officers, the distinguished Senator in Congress from the *glorious little State of South Carolina*, throwing down his commission, returning home, and entering into "a miserable and mercenary, and degrading scramble" for public office, that he might "signally illustrate the duties of the station, by a rare combination of prudence, patriotism, wisdom and energy." Who amongst you has forgotten the *proscription* of Judge Smith, our Senator in Congress; and "the miserable, and mercenary, and degrading scramble" for his office, on the part of the then Ex Governor of the State, Stephen D. Miller, Esq.?—and what has been the whole conduct of Col. Preston, but a miserable scramble for a seat in the Senate of the United States? What brought the present Governor home, but the vanity of "signally illustrating the duties of his station," by another "rare combination of prudence, patriotism, wisdom and energy," and above all to preseve the power of the party?

Where is the man of any intelligence amongst you, but must remember to have seen one of your most dignified officers, one of the Judges of your highest court, stepping from the dignity of the wool-sack, to take a tilt in "a miserable and mercenary, and degrading scramble" for a public office of less dignity, in order that he might the better subserve the purposes of a party, by wielding that most powerful destroyer of liberty, The Bank of the State of South Carolina, in the enslavement of his countrymen. But of this anon

Who that will turn his thoughts back for a few minutes upon the history of the last six years, but will remember to have seen a distinguished leader of the "authority of the State," devoting his "most zealous and indefatigable efforts," and great political *stratagy* (in which he has attained "the highest possible state of perfection) in obtaining the petty post of 2nd Lieutenant in a military corps, in order that he might be enabled to grasp the epaulets of a Brigadier General.

Who, that will review the history of the last three or four years, but must remember to have seen an honorable member of the Senate of the chivalric State of S. C. (Mr Hall) a most vociferous declaimer in the hackneyed themes of State Rights, and State remedies, stooping from his high and dignified station, to enter into "a miserable and mercenary, and degrading scramble," for the petty office of reporter of the decisions of the Appeal Court? Who does not remember to have seen an honorable member of the other house, (Col. Player) a "most zealous and indefatigable" vindicator of the rights and liberties *of the people* against the usurpations and oppressions of the *Federal Government*, condescending to enter the lists in "a miserable and mercenary, and degrading scramble" for the more petty office of States attorney in one of the law Circuits? I well remember to have heard it distinctly admitted at the time, by a distinguished leader of the party in his *own* opinion at least, that these offices were bestowed in reward for services rendered the cause. It is not true therefore, that "proscription and exclusion are utterly abhorrent to their principles," or that they have heretofore disdained "a miserable and mercenary, and degrading scramble for the public offices:" and yet strange to tell, these very men, in some most "strange infatuation," some "natural delusion," dare to stand up in the face of day and your representatives, and through their Commander in chief, exhort you in hypocritical cant, to disdain "*a miserable and mercenary, and degrading scramble for the public offices*, which has *disgraced he policy, and corrupted the morals of other States*," and direct your "ambition to the more glorious rivalry of trying who can do most to render South Carolina an enlightened, prosperous and happy community."

Oh! my countrymen, take heed ere it be too late! "If communities will ever learn wisdom from experience, can it be more than necessary to appeal to the impressive lessons we have received" and to which I have just adverted, "as an admonition for the regulation of our future policy!"

"To see this sight, it irks my very soul"—and I pray you, look to these ambitious men *at home*, and be not longer deceived by them. "No community of men upon the face of the earth, in any age or under any dispensation, political or religious, ever has been governed by justice," when they have long revelled in luxury, and become drunk with power. "It is not justice and magnanimity, but self interest and ambition, dignified and disguised under the name of *patriotism, wisdom and energy*, that ever has govorned, and will govern men, acting" as political rulers and leaders.

But fellow citizens, do not deceive *yourselves*, nor (in the language of your Governor) "vainly hope to escape danger by shutting your eyes against the evidences of its approaches." Let us go on therefore, to trace the picture of the conflagration of your liberties. And for the purpose of better illustrating it, let us turn back to some other matters of history in that eventful period of the nullification of tariff laws, and your liberty.

What was the course pursued by your rulers in the getting up and appointing (not electing) members of the convention *of the people*? General Hamilton, then Commander in chief, directed his officers of division in every district in the State, to hold caucuses of the faithful, and to nominate *suitable* persons for members to the convention; and in those districts where that could be done it was done: the people were harangued, and hood-winked, by the most insidious art, and brought bound to the polls, and voted the ticket put into their fingers This *was* the course pursued throughout the State; but that, that was the course pursued in Columbia, I assert upon my own knowledge, having been an eye witness. The ticket for Richland district was made up at Dukes' dram shop in Columbia, he being a very conspicuous and important personage amongst the band of worthies collected there (in which some of the candidates may be included,) and it was solemnly determined, whilst copious potations of whiskey urged them on to deeds of glory, that Col Butler, Col Brown, Capt Clifton, Mr Adams and Mr Williamson should be elected; and runners were accordingly secretly sent through the district so to order it.

But it was necessary to "assume a virtue, though they had it not;" and make a shew of

fair play at least. A public meeting of the citizens of the district was therefore advertised for the purpose of nominating *suitable* persons to be elected members of the convention.—The people did assemble and this same fellow Dukes, urged and secretly supported by some of the candidates, or their friends, insolently and in the rudest manner, announced a ticket bearing the names above mentioned. Some discussion arose—Dukes rejoined in his accustomed tone of bravado, and gentlemen not choosing to condescend to his level, and dispute with such a fellow, left the meeting in disgust. The ticket was hastily put, and a *vociferous* acclamation, was pronounced to have carried it affirmatively. Thus did these desperate and ambitious men, carry their point. I have been credibly informed, and believe that the same scene was acted in the other districts of the State. I appeal to you, fellow citizens, whether or not you do know the fact. Of the same character, are the *elections* (so misnamed) for members of your legislature; and yet these men have the impudence now to tell you that they disdained "a miserable and mercenary, and degrading scramble for the public offices."

We have now arrived at the meeting of the convention of the sovereign people. True, there was no "miserable, and degrading scramble" *there*, "for the public offices;" for that, had all been arranged before hand, by the ruling spirits of the times—the whole show had been prepared and rehearsed in Charleston, and the actors, had only to appear in succession upon the stage, at the tinkling of the bell, make their speeches and their exit. Gov. Hamilton was *called* to the presidency, Mr. Hayne to the clerkship—Judge Colcock, read the ordinance of nullification, Mr. *Brutus* (Cæsar had suited him better) Turnbull, the address to to the people of this State, and Mr. McDuffie, that to the people of the United States; and "the authority of mere names" made law, without consulting the minority, though composed of some of the best blood of the State They were not even permitted to ope their lips; and yet these men have the impudence to tell you that in all their actings and doings, they have been *impelled by patriotism, and governed by prudence, wisdom, justice, and impartiality:*—that "proscription and exclusion, are utterly abhorrent to their principles:"—that they disdain "a miserable and mercenary, and degrading scramble for the public offices."

Who, that will not wilfully shut his eyes, or deaf his ear to matters of fact, but must remember the disgusting and wicked scenes of corruption and *stratagy*, that have been acted over and over again, in every city, town, and village, and district, in the State, by these haughty rulers, to seize upon *every* public office, post or appointment! Look to the little offices within the gift of the Legislature—who shares them? why some fawning sycophants. Why was Mr. Chapman *proscribed* and turned out of his places of messenger to the Senate, and house keeper, which he had faithfully filled many years? To make room for one of their servants. Why was Dukes given the place of messenger to the house of representatives? As a reward for his services, in the electioneering campaign for the Convention, and sundry others of the same character. Look to the State offices of honor and profit—to your corporation offices—to *every* office within the gift of the people, directly or indirectly, of every degree, high and low: who dispenses them? Why these proud and haughty "authority of the State" men.

The arrogance of these men has indeed risen to an alarming height; for it is well remembered by you in Charleston at least, that when they had counselled together,

"For now the field is not far off,
Where we must give the world a proof
Of *deeds* not *words*, and such as suit
Another manner of dispute;
A controversy that affords
Actions for arguments, not words;
Which we must manage at a rate
Of prowess and conduct adequate
To what our place and fame doth promise;"

Governor Hayne, General Hamilton, and Mr. Turnbull took upon themselves "the responsibility" and actually nullified the ordinance of the Convention, which they had induced you the people, to ordain, and order to be enforced on a given day; and their "*mere names commended it*" to you as law. But the truth is, these leaders are

——————"of knowledge great,
Either for charge or for retreat:
They knew when to fall on pell-mell;
To fall back and retreat as well."

Little more than a year has elapsed too, since we saw a distinguished leader of the band, from Charleston, (Mr. Dunkin) conceiving himself entitled by reason of his zeal in the cause, to a seat on the wool-sack, whilst his co adjutors were disposed to invest a more vociferous partizan, in the robe, flounced out of his seat in the house of representatives, and abandoned the interests of his constituents in disgust.

'Twere well perhaps that he was disappointed, for

"I fear me, you but warm the starved snake,
Who cherish'd in your breasts, will sting your hearts"

Look back, upon every public meeting that has been held in the State, either in town or

country, for any purpose, during the last six years, and enquire who has filled the chair? who was secretary? who the orators? Is it forgotten how well the ceremony is prepared and performed? No; It is fresh in the memories of many, how such matters are conducted. Who, with a soul—with the feelings of a freeman, that has ever attended one of these political meetings, that has not looked on with the deepest concern for his liberty, whilst he marked how one of these haughty dictators will call another of the club, to the chair, he a satellite to the secretaryship, and then the cur dogs that are to dispute the point in issue (all ready trained for the purpose) are called out by name, or with the whistle, and conduct the *ex parte* battle of words Who, with the feelings of a freeman, has not looked on with the most sovereign contempt at the small dogs and puppies, inching and pressing towards the chair, frisking and switching their tails, and shivering with anxiety, to catch a look from Mr. Chairman, in hopes of the honor of being called to fill the honorable office of secretary, and have their names appear in the newspapers? Who with the spirit of a man, that has not contemplated with sorrow the subjugation of the people by these ambitious tyrants? how they have been hood winked and tamed to obedience, so that when the question has received its quantum of *argument* (if it deserves the name and is put, they bleat *aye*, like a flock of sheep at the sight of their shepherd when "they go for h to victual." Who, with the feelings of a man, but must feel his heart sink within him at this moral degradation of his fellow man? If any contradicts my statements, or denies my feelings, I tell him. he is a willing bondman.

But fellow-citizens there is still another daring and more dangerous stride taken by these men to subjugate and enslave you; and which they were emboldened to attempt, by your cowardly and contemptible submission to all the others which I have pointed out. Look to the late attempt of the "*authority of the State*" men, to disarm your citizens, who had heretofore combated them, and bestow their swords and epaulets, upon the foppish, chattering, swaggering, empty-headed declaimers of the dynasty, in reward for past services. The Military Bill was beyond doubt got up (I speak advisedly) for that purpose; and the oath of fidelity and allegiance to the State (with their interpretation of it) was appended, in order to *exclude* the opponents from office under the specious guise of self-proscription; because they knew that there were very many independent sprits amongst them, who would disdain the gew-gaws of military office, if they had to compromise their consciences and their honor. Mark the arrogant assumption of power by these men, in taking out of your hands, the election of your high military officers, in order that they might bestow them, as best suited their purposes of self-aggrandisement: And mark the "miserable, and mercenary, and degrading scramble" amongst themselves for these offices.

But how are they distributed even amongst themselves? *Not* with a view of "infusing into the whole body of the militia, a high military spirit," or of introducing "the most efficient organization, and the highest possible state of military improvement, in stratagy, tactics, and general discipline;" but first, with a view of rewarding their most clamorous and subservient co-operators in the destruction of your freedom, no matter, whether they knew better, how to sit a horse, or wield a sword than dandy Jack. (and I have seen some of them, when fully equipped with their 'long sword, saddle, bridle,' that looked not unlike his monkeyship,) and secondly, of afterwards "introducing the most efficient organization, and the highest possible state of military improvement, in stratagy, tactics, and discipline" amongst their enslaved and degraded vassals.

Thanks to the magnanimity and independence of the majority of the Appeal Court, that arrested these men in their mad career of ambition, and proved themselves nullifiers of the right stamp—nullifiers of unconstitutional laws at home, by the peaceful and strong arm of the law that *is* constitutional. They gave them the "most unkindest cut," that brought them to a halt; and their courage and independence, will be remembered, when the memory of their defamers will have sunk into oblivion and contempt.

But what was the course pursued by the "authority of the State" men, upon the promulgation of the decision of the Court of Appeals upon the constitutionality of the oath of allegiance inserted in the infamous military bill? Meetings were held in almost every town, and on almost every muster-ground in the State, and the most vulgar abuse heaped upon the two Judges that carried the day:—(See the files of the Telescope and Times) Every black guard in the State, was called in, to their assistance, and exhausted his vocabulary of vulgar epithets upon them:—the leaders of divisions, attacked them with the most vociferous fury, and despoiled them of every attribute of good character, whilst the puppies, yelping assent to all their masters said, snapped at their heels, and scattered their furious foam.

Terrible denunciations, and threats of punishment and ejectment from office, were thundered against them, by every one of the

party that could connect three ideas, from the great and mighty reformer PYM down to the little spaniel of the Telescope.—Every aspirant of the party, to a seat in the legislature, in speeches full of empty noise, pledged themselves to their degraded vassals, to expel these vile opposers of the will of the tyrants; because (says the Telescope,) it is an undeniable fact, that this nullifying State, can never carry that remedy" (its scheme of power and tyranny,) "into effect, whilst these two tory Judges are to administer her laws."

True, fellow-citizens—very true. This man, does sometimes speak the truth. 'Tis very true, that "the State, in the person of General Hamilton," can *never* effectually trample down your liberties, whilst you have sense and spirit enough, to defend them:—*never*, whilst there is amongst you, a tongue, honest enough, to cry aloud, and a heart and hand, resolute enough, to execute vengeance upon the tyrants:—*never*, whilst you have the courage to oppose your bodies to the tyrants, and cry,

——————"Lay on,——
And damn'd be he, that first cries *Hold, enough.*"

But who amongst you, is so blind, that cannot see through the wicked scheme?

——————"Who is so gross,
That cannot see this palpable device?
Yet who so bold, but says——he sees it not?"

It is, to eject these independent Judges from their offices, whilst they effect the double purpose of rewarding some favorites, (for 'tis whispered that the Ex-Governors Hayne and Miller would accept soft seats) and strengthening their own power, by having pliable interpreters of the law.

But why have they faltered in their career towards despotism, which you, like cowards had permitted them to pursue so far? Because they see that their *proscriptions, exclusions, favoritisms, and corruptions* had wound up the courage of the minority to the sticking point—that their vile practices, had alienated many from their party, and they would be overthrown: because they see that the age is growing sick of the schemes of ambition and self-aggrandizement, which they have palmed upon it for the last ten years, under the charm of disinterested patriotism: because they see that the delusion is rapidly floating before the overwhelming authority of public opinion. A defeat even of the out posts, they knew, from the example of the "most unkindest cut," given by the Appeal Court, would give a deadly check to the progress of the army, and they of course determined to resort to *stratagy* to carry out their schemes. What is it? Need I ask? Is it not palpable? It is to feign a desire for conciliation; to hold out a hand for all, but a heart for none. Their chief, hangs out the flag of truce, invites you, to offer up all your "political animosities, upon the altar of disinterested patriotism," to "unite in a common effort, to develope the resources, perfect the institutions, increase the power, and elevate the character of the State: "Let *us*," (says he) "disdaining *a miserable, and mercenary, and degrading scramble*, for the public offices, which has disgraced the policy, and corrupted the morals of *other States*, direct our ambition, to the more glorious rivalry of trying who can do most, to render South Carolina, an enlightened, prosperous, and happy community."

But fellow-citizens, be not deceived:

——————"let not his smoothing word
Bewitch your hearts; be wise and circumspect.
What though the common people favor him,
Clapping their hands, and crying with loud voice—
Jesu maintain your royal excellence!
I fear me, —— for all this flattering gloss.
He will be found a dangerous protector."

They are most lavish of their caresses, who intend to deceive us, and who have already done it.

I sincerely and conscientiously believe, that it is their intention, to lull you into a "fatal security," until a favorable opportunity shall occur, to put their foot upon your necks, and bind you to their car. How often have I in the course of this investigation, detected them, like some reckless libertine, preaching to you, doctrines which they did not practise. How often, have I proven, that these men's lips over-flowed with the expression of sentiments, which their hearts never felt? and will you suffer yourselves to be caught in the same trap, from which you are measurably extricated? I hope not.

Do you believe the miserable hypocritical cant of the party, published in their vehicle of falsehood and slander, the Telescope of the 10th December, and headed "HIGHLY GRATIFYING INTELLIGENCE"? No, fellow citizens; believe it not: the rankness of its falsehood, smells to heaven. These men, can only live in a storm: the very moment that peace pervades your land, and your attention is reverted upon your do-

mestic institutions, "Othello's occupation's gone."

I hope you "will be no longer imposed upon by artful and designing men, or by *wretches, who, bankrupts in business, in fame, and in fortune*, mean to involve the country in the same common ruin with themselves." These men, have a common interest in preserving a system, which of itself is sufficent to support them in office, gratify their avarice and ambition, and secure impunity, without the assistance of virtue and honesty. Bear always in mind, the proverb, "the wolf changes his coat, but not his disposition."

Take it as a maxim, that like causes produce like effects; and it requires but "a small endowment of political sagacity" to know that if you suffer these haughty men, to resume the ground from which they have measurably been beaten, your liberties are gone forever; civil discord will again pervade your land, and the scenes of distress, which you have just witnessed, will inevitably be acted over again, nay, worse:—your liberties will be sacrificed to their ambition, and lost to you *forever*.

"Glory is like a circle in the water,
Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself;"

and unless checked by your seasonable interference, these men will never stop, until they ride over your necks, into absolute and despotic power. Depend upon it, a severer war lurks under the show of peace.

"There is a thing within my bosom, tells me,
That no condition of our peace can stand."

It is against the policy of their ambition, as it has heretofore been, to suffer your minds to be at rest, and they will most certainly get up some other cause for excitement, some act of the *federal* government, or some act of fraud, deceit, or favoritism, perpetrated by the federal lion, to amuse you with, and rivet your eyes upon, whilst *they*, will perpetrate all manner of frauds, deceits, proscriptions, exclusions and favoritisms, at home, with "*undisturbed consciences*."

Once suffer them to mend their hold upon you, now relaxed, and another military bill will be got up, to disarm you, and invest themselves with the sword:—one step more, and the rivet to your chains will be headed. They will enact a law to define and punish treason, similar to Burt's (for which he deserves to be hanged by Lidford law) by which it will be made highly penal, for any person "by writing or advised speaking, to endeavor to instigate the people of this State," to maintain, support, and defend their government, "without the assent of the authority of the State."

Fellow Citizens! too long, have you tamely submitted to the encroachments of these men, upon your dearest rights: too long, have you tamely submitted to their despotic rule:—too long, have you listened to their dictation, and co-operated in their tyranny over you:—too long, have you been their dupes, and been deceived by the cunning arts, with which they have led you on to their purposes, and tamed you to obedience;—too long, have you been governed by the magic of "mere names":—too long, have you stood by, in the mean rank of servants and assistants to these men, whilst they grasped the sceptre, and *proscribed* some of your most worthy and patriotic citizens:—too long, have you stood by, in the mean rank of servants and assistants to these men, whilst they attempted to wrest the sword from some of your most chivalric citizens:—too long, have you stood by, in the mean rank of servants to these men, whilst they have insolently seized upon your public treasure, and are distributing it amongst their sycophantic flatterers:—too long, have they insolently controlled your elections, filled your public offices with their favorites, *governed your institutions*, and appropriated *your money*, in furtherance of their schemes of self-aggrandizement and power:—too long, have they paid with *your money*, a set of hirelings, of desperate fortunes, (who were too well known where they were whelped, to remain there,) to deaf your ears with fearful clamor of frauds and aggressions, committed by the admistrators of the *federal government*, and rivet your attention upon the actings and doings at Washington, whilst their masters are enriching themselves with money, dignities, and renown:—too long, has this set of miscreants, been paid out of *your treasury*, to chant their masters praises, in rodomontades of their disinterestedness and patriotism, whilst they have been engaged in putting rings in your noses, and fetters about your wrists,—to tell you, of the necessity of oaths of allegiance and fidelity, to bind *your* "coward consciences," whilst to their own hearts, they whisper,

"To hell allegiance! vows to the blackest devil!
Conscience and grace, to the profoundest pit."

My heart sickens at the reflection, that

use, can do any thing. A constant drop of water, upon the hardest granite, will penetrate it at last. So, I fear it is with you:—you have become so accustomed to slavery, that you feel not the yoke:—its rough and galling surface, has become polished by use, and your necks so hardened, that you are almost insensible to its weight;—you are the slaves of a faction, and are governed by the magic of "mere names," whilst you are swaggering about your liberty, and boasting of having bearded the lion in his den at Washington.

I feel myself dishonored, when I reflect upon the disgrace that is heaped upon my country, by the ambition of her own sons!—when I refle t, that they have jeopardized the liberty of their children, and grand-children, yet unborn, to gratify the short-lived ambition of tyrants. But most vile and degrading!—that they should ever have condesended to invest her, with foreign hirelings, to deceive, bully, and tamper with her people, whilst they preyed upon her vitals!—Gods! my blood boils with rage, and my heart is ready to leap from its tenement, when I hear one of this hireling band of renegades, vilifying some of our best citizens, and talking of 'the voice of *our* people';—the '*prostitution* of their legal *opinions to the purposes of a party*';—'their personal *crimes* against the State, her *peace and liberty*':—'their notorious *servility to the tyrant*';—'their *flagrant ignorance and falsehood*';—'if *we* are to have nullification' &c.;—'if *we* are to uphold *fidelity* and *patriotism*';—'the sanctity against *foreign mercenaries* of *our own* hearths;—'*our* right to punish *wretches* that conspire with the tyrant' &c—'can *we*, for one single moment, trust or tolerate these men'?—for, what more fatal crimes against the State, do *we* attend their leisure'?—'their efforts to involve *us* in a most unequal and unnatural war;'—'are *we* to delay the slightest vengeance 'till they do'?—*Telescope of Nov. last.*

I burn with indignation, when I read the slander of one of Carolina's ablest sons, (one, whom, 'till the rage of party spirit had overwhelmed virtue itself, she had delighted to honor,) put forth by one of these miscreants in the following terms:

"JUDGE SMITH—REDIVIVUS.

There are creatures in which life is tenacious just in proportion as it is ignoble and worthless. Do every thing with them that would end a being more elevated—crush them—cut them in pieces—and they presently begin to crawl afresh, like worms that multiply by the attempt to destroy them. Even thus it is with the political reptile in question: a creeping, slimy, mud-born thing, which the lightest blow seems to annihilate; but from which not a giant's strength could expel its base vitality."—*Telescope, Jan. 23. '35.*

Oh! my country!—you have indeed sunk low in the scale of honor and honesty, when such an insect, as this same editor, is permitted to exist in your bosom, feed upon your substance, and *dare* to tell the world, that *his* vile ribaldry, is that "*which the sense of the entire community will ratify at once.*"—when such animalcule as this, *dares* to endorse his base slander of your worthiest sons, with "*the voice of the people*"!—when such felonious robbers, and base assassins of private character and virtue, are not only permitted to go unpunished, but are actually clothed and fed, out of *your treasury*, for their infamous service, by the consent, connivance, countenance, and assistance of those, whom you have covered with your honors, and to whom you have confided the administration of your affairs. Let me turn from the disgusting particulars of your prostitution. Well, may many of your most virtuous and gallant sons, abjure their fidelity and obedience to you, and fly to the western wilds, to mourn over the degradation of their beloved mother.

Perhaps, fellow-citizens, you may enquire what's to be done?

"The cause for which we fought and swore
So boldly, shall we now give o'er?"
"Shall we go throw away our coats of steel,
And wrap our bodies in black mourning gowns?"

Tear away the veil, which these ambitious demagogues, have set between your eyes and their ambition;—banish the "mental delusion," and shew yourselves worthy of that, which has hitherto been a passport into any country, the name of SOUTH CAROLINIAN: and as you value your lives, your wives and children, your fortunes, and your sacred honor, pledged in the most solemn manner to your forefathers, for the preservation and protection of the legacy bequeathed you, snatch the sceptre from the grasp of the usurpers and restore it to the sanctuary of liberty, THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE.

"Now, ——— or never, steel your fearful thoughts,
And change misdoubt to resolution;
————————Charge upon our foes!
But never once again turn back, and fly."